

April 10

picion that the White House had a political interest in the jobs.

The following week Mrs. Davies had another meeting at which no CSC people were invited. Significantly many of those attending handled patronage for their agencies along with a few career personnel directors. Summer jobs were discussed and the suspicion deepened that the White House planned to use the jobs for political purposes. But Mrs. Davies and others promptly denied the reports.

It was at this juncture that Civil Service officials explained to White House staffers that a political test for summer jobs would be illegal. They suggested issuance of a clear-cut statement to explain in effect that the summer jobs would be filled largely from civil service and agency tests as has been past practice. Several staff members liked the idea.

But in the end the White House decided not to go along with any such statement on the ground that none was necessary since no change was planned in summer hirings. It was argued that the statement implied guilt on the part of the White House. The White House action added to the suspicions but at least CSC was partially satisfied with its denials of political interference.

The job issue was down to a simmer 2 weeks ago today when CSC Chairman John W. Macy confidently assured the House Civil Service Committee that the White House interest in summer jobs was confined to planning seminars for students.

But a few hours afterward the Commission was jolted when it was shown a copy of personnel data sheet sent to a few agencies by the White House. The document requested the name, address, and other background information on summer job applicants and appointees. The crucial question, in the eyes of the Commission was "By whom recommended?"

CSC went into a hurried special session and issued an extraordinary warning to agency heads that it would be illegal to submit names of student applicants to the White House for political clearances. It hinted punitive actions against those who might indulge in it. That should have settled the issue and it gave the White House another opportunity, also ignored, to retreat gracefully.

Next came reports that regular agency personnel offices, staffed with career people, were being bypassed and that those who handle patronage in the agencies and dubbed "political commissars," were making commitments to hire students. It was assumed their actions were motivated by political considerations and pressures.

Student Democrats were advised to send their form 57's, the Government job application form, to their Members of Congress and to have them relay the forms, with recommendations, to Mrs. Davies. James Hunt of the Democratic National Committee was the contact man for the students.

Finally, the White House ignored a friendly letter written to the President by the National Civil Service League, a good-government group, which urged him to disavow any plan to have the White House set up a political clearance system for student job-holders.

The situation called for decisive action to recapture some of the lost faith in the merit system which the President is on public record to protect and to strengthen.

CSC did it with its tough antipolitical interference order. The Commission means to enforce the law and its rules. Only time will tell whether it will be allowed to succeed.

WILL KENNEDY BACK AGRICULTURE?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in the Waterloo Daily Courier for March 27,

1963, the lead editorial entitled "Will Kennedy Back Agriculture?" merits attention. The editorial points out the present deplorable situation arising from the discriminatory variable import duties imposed by the Common Market on some of our agricultural exports. U.S. sales of poultry and eggs dropped 40 percent during the first 4 months these duties were in effect; flour exports dropped 65 percent, and wheat sales dropped 77 percent. With negotiations scheduled in May in Geneva under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the editorial wisely advises that if our Government is devoted to the best interests of American agriculture, it must refuse to bargain on lowering of tariffs on industrial products if the Common Market countries refuse to bargain on lowering these variable import duties affecting our agricultural exports.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL KENNEDY BACK AGRICULTURE?

The Common Market countries last August imposed variable import fees on most imports of agricultural commodities. Effect of the fees is to prevent any imports of commodities produced in these countries from selling below the Common Market support price.

Effect of the program was instantaneous. During the first 4 months, according to U.S. News & World Report, U.S. sales of poultry and eggs in Common Market countries had dropped 40 percent below the year's earlier figures. Flour exports dropped 65 percent and wheat sales slumped 77 percent.

These declines were greater than had been anticipated since it was not considered possible for the Common Market countries to replace American supplies that rapidly. But the result has been a serious blow to American farms.

Spokesmen for American agriculture, therefore, must watch closely the tariff negotiations in May in Geneva. This is the meeting of the 41 nations involved in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The American Government, if devoted to the welfare of American agriculture, must refuse to bargain on the lowering of tariffs on industrial products if the Common Market countries refuse to bargain on lowering of the variable fees on American farm imports.

The ideal of world trade is that each nation produces what it does most efficiently and trades for the products in which it is inefficient. But the Common Market countries have abandoned this concept on agricultural products and are returning to the old protectionist concepts. The result can only be a gradual return to high tariffs on both sides.

Because the Kennedy administration is so committed to the concept of an expansion in free world trade, however, it will be tempted to sacrifice American agricultural trade. The spokesmen for American agriculture must organize to determine that this doesn't happen.

DECREASE OF FREE WORLD SHIPPING TO CUBA

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, from time to time I have placed in the RECORD reports on free world shipping to Cuba. Sometimes I have been able to obtain the figures for monthly periods. Recently, I have been obtaining them for 2-week periods.

During the period from March 22 through April 5, our allies sent to Cuba

11 ships, including 2 tankers, whose gross tonnages total 51,694. Great Britain appears to have gained the lead again, in shipping 35,384 tons. I state the gross tonnage, because it is in direct ratio with the amount of cargo which can be transported.

Tankers under British and Greek flags totaled 27,390 tons. It is heartening to note that total free world tonnage has dropped off 33,216 tons, as compared with that for the preceding 2-week period, and that tanker tonnage was reduced by 13,292 tons over the same period. A new arrival on the scene is the Moroccan ship *Toubkal*, of 8,748 tons.

Reliable sources indicate that the Soviet Union, in a move said to be designed to strengthen the availability of dry-cargo ship tonnage under direct Russian control for trade with Cuba, has purchased a dozen Liberty ships, in excellent conditions, from European owners. The 10,000-ton, 10-knot ships were purchased in Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy, at prices reported to be considerably above the present market level for such tonnage. The average price involved was said to be \$180,000, which would be some \$25,000 above the current price level for free-transferable Liberty vessels. This circumstance indicates to me that the Russians are beginning to feel the pinch occasioned by the reduction of free world shipping to Cuba.

The tonnage of free world shipping which continues to go to Cuba is still too great and our allies still are not cooperating to the extent to which I believe they should.

The list of free world ships going to Cuba, their flag of registry, and their tonnage during the period of March 22, 1963, through April 5, 1963, is as follows:

Ardmore, British, 4,664 tons.
Athelcrown (tanker), British, 11,149 tons.
Linkmoor, British, 8,236 tons.
Sierra Madre, Spanish, 998 tons.
Lord Gladstone, British, 11,299 tons.
Penelope, Greek, 6,712 tons.
Sirius (tanker), Greek, 16,241 tons.
Toubkal, Moroccan, 8,748 tons.
Tine, Norwegian, 4,750 tons.
Dugi Otok, Yugoslav, 6,997 tons.
Olga, Lebanese, 7,199 tons.

So the free world is still giving the Russians this advantage, in connection with the shipment of supplies to Cuba, by helping them with the shipping and by selling them some of the old Liberty ships.

Mr. President, the last list of freighters serving the Cuban trade is particularly interesting, in that it shows the British to be far out in front in terms of total tonnage.

During a 5 1/2-week period from January 31 through March 8, six British ships totalling 76,066 gross tons, were listed—including two ships in the 16,000- to 22,000-ton class. Greece was the only other country whose combined tonnage was significant. Six vessels in this period accounted for 47,442 tons.

The combined tanker tonnage of 93,555 tons shipped much needed petroleum products in vessels under British, Greek, and Norwegian flags.

I wish to add that in all the weeks I have been putting into the RECORD

1963

These examinations, the Commission said, will eliminate both political patronage and nepotism from summer job dispensing. It has been charged by the Republicans, and denied by the Democratic administration, that summer replacement jobs are being handed out as political favors.

The actions resulted from the Star's disclosures that the Kennedy administration was requiring White House clearance of all summer students jobs in Government. Criticism from Republican Members of Congress as well as the press caused the administration to reassess its position.

AUTHORITY SUSPENDED

In order to bar political patronage this year, the CSC has suspended the authority of all Federal departments and agencies to hire for these jobs, except in the case of competitive registers for college intern and trainee jobs, as well as some typist positions.

The CSC suspended authority of agencies to make schedule A non-civil-service appointments for these jobs, as well as the authority to appoint students to summer jobs not to exceed a total of 700 hours or other jobs for which direct hiring has been allowed.

This suspension will be in effect between May 1 and October 1, 1963, the period of summer employment unless an agency convinces the CSC that no politics will be involved.

In order to have the suspensions lifted, each agency head must satisfy the CSC in writing that no political considerations will be given.

Furthermore, specific documentation of the agency's hiring program, to convince the CSC that political factors will not be applied, will be required.

NAMES TO WHITE HOUSE

This also means that agencies must refrain from sending to the White House the names of any job applicants, the CSC said. Once a student is hired and is on the rolls, it then would be all right for an agency to furnish the White House with the name of the employee for the purpose of planning student seminars, the CSC said.

Commission officials said its action was taken without clearance from the White House and that the White House was notified of the action at the same time as the press.

Since the Star first disclosed the White House clearance situation, the administration has been sharply criticized, with the result that many administration officials felt that greater political liability than good would accrue from the policy.

CSC officials said the situation reached the breaking point when the Star a week ago Sunday in a followup to its original story disclosed that the National College Democrat, the official publication of the National Federation of College Young Democrats, gave its members specific instructions on how to get political clearance from the White House.

The Young Democrats also were told to contact the college director of the Democratic National Committee in connection with the jobs.

INTEGRITY AT STAKE

A top CSC official declared, "We couldn't allow the situation to continue. The reputation and integrity of the Government's civil service merit system was at stake."

The entire situation has also made the CSC decide to hold nationwide competitive exams for all student summer jobs starting next year. This not only would eliminate political patronage but also the nepotism in which agency officials hire their sons and daughters and the children of friends.

The CSC heretofore had been opposed to nationwide competitive exams because of the cost involved. But recent events caused the CSC to change its mind. It now feels that whatever extra cost and time is involved

will amply justify the protection of merit system principles.

About 6,000 Government summer jobs for students are available in the Washington area, and another 5,000 or 6,000 elsewhere in the country.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 9, 1963]
CIVIL SERVICE MOVES TO BAR POLITICS FROM SUMMER JOBS FOR STUDENTS

(By Jerry Klutts)

The Civil Service Commission yesterday acted to prevent the White House and Federal agencies from appointing students to summer Federal jobs here on the basis of political pull.

It withdrew from all agencies authority to make the temporary appointments, and the power won't be restored unless the Commission is convinced that the appointments are made without political clearances and in full compliance with the law and its rules.

The tough antipolitical interference order was a departure for the agency, which generally contents itself with issuing warnings to prevent undermining of the merit system and its laws and rules by either agencies or individuals.

"We must make sure," CSC announced, "that no steps are taken to defeat the President's expressed intention to protect fully the civil service merit system." It further explained:

"Recent press reports alleging that political clearance is necessary for summer employment in civil service positions in the Washington metropolitan area indicate serious misunderstandings about this program. The image of the Federal service can be gravely damaged, and future quality staffing can be jeopardized unless all doubt as to the integrity of merit system operations is dispelled."

CSC then informed agency heads in a special bulletin that political clearance in filling competitive jobs is clearly illegal, and it quoted the appropriate rule and the sweeping authority it has to enforce it. To assure compliance with the rules, CSC concluded, it was necessary for it to suspend all agency authorizations to make temporary appointments in the Washington area between next May 1 and October 1.

The Commission also directed its staff to make special inspections during the summer months to make sure that summer appointments comply with its rules and the law.

CSC will restore the hiring authority on an agency-by-agency basis but only after the agency head certifies that he and his staff fully understand the civil service laws and rules and will carry them out.

Chairman John W. Macy also announced that CSC is developing plans for a nationwide competitive exam that would be used to fill summer jobs in 1964. This would be the first time for such a test and it would discourage both nepotism and partisan political considerations.

A CSC official commented: "We were sorry to have to do it but we were placed in an impossible situation where our honor and virtue and the integrity of the system was at stake."

The White House repeatedly assured CSC that it had no plans to require a political test for summer Federal jobholders. But Dorothy Davies of the White House sent agencies data sheets that asked for the names, addresses and other information on applicants. The significant question on the form in CSC's eyes was "By Whom Recommended?"

College Democrats were advised to have Members of Congress send their completed Forms 67's, job application forms, to Mrs. Davies along with recommendations from the Members. James Hunt was assigned by the Democratic National Committee to advise student applicants on how to get jobs.

Agency officials also advised CSC that they were being told that the jobs were to be filled on a political basis despite CSC and the laws.

The hard-hitting CSC directive will have the effect of canceling commitments made to hundreds of students who were promised jobs here this summer. CSC stressed that agencies must use appropriate competitive registers to fill their summer jobs unless their hiring authority is restored.

Incidentally, the order will have the effect of improving job prospects of students who have passed the student aid, trainee, Federal service entrance, typing and other competitive tests. Most of the summer hiring will be from these registers.

Federal agencies last year hired nearly 10,000 students for temporary summer jobs and a recent CSC survey indicates they plan to hire about 6,000 this summer.

But the controversy over summer jobs and cuts by Congress in agency budgets have combined to lower estimates to around 3,000.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 10, 1963]
WHITE HOUSE INVITED CSC CRACKDOWN ON STUDENT JOB POLITICS

(By Jerry Klutts)

The White House invited the black eye administered to it by the Civil Service Commission which has cracked down hard on political interference in summer jobs.

Its behavior on the job issue was strange and contradictory. Although it denied any intention to give political clearances to summer job appointees, its actions aroused deep suspicions of political involvements.

The Commission had cautioned the White House staff several weeks ago that a political clearance system would be illegal and that it would be forced to take actions to prevent its use.

After all, Civil Service officials are realists. They know only too well that the President and White House staff members, in both Democratic and Republican administrations, have been instrumental in getting summer jobs for friends and friends of friends.

CSC or the most partisan Republican in Congress wouldn't have dreamed of making an issue if White House staffers informally recommended and agencies hired a couple of hundred students for temporary summer jobs. In fact, most of them would defend the practice.

What, then, is so different about the job picture this year? What brought on the tough CSC directive that canceled the authority of agencies to make temporary appointments until it is satisfied that no politics is involved in them and to move toward filling summer jobs on the basis of competitive merit tests?

The answer is: at least two new elements. First, Dorothy Davies and her superiors on the White House staff sought to formalize summer hirings through her office, and second, CSC was placed in the intolerable position of not knowing what it was talking about in its own jurisdiction—the Federal personnel field.

Several weeks ago Mrs. Davies discussed summer job problems with two top Civil Service officials at her White House office. She had set up last summer's seminars for students which were generally rated a success. The President and others took time out to give the students an insight of Government and to encourage them to make careers in it.

The CSC was sympathetic to Mrs. Davies' concern over improving the seminars but they failed to understand clearly what she had in mind in the matter of appointments.

At the time the Commission was considering a nationwide competitive test to select students for summer jobs. Mrs. Davies showed little sympathy for the idea. Anyway, the session ended with the first sus-

from week to week the list of vessels sailing in the Cuban trade, there has been a very conspicuous absence of ships from Central or South America, which shows a fine degree of cooperation of the so-called free nations in the Latin Alliance, which are helping us with the economic problem of quarantining Cuba.

WASHINGTON TO BOSTON RAIL-ROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. CLAIBORNE PELL, has proposed a resolution for congressional consent for a multistate authority to help modernize and operate railroad passenger service along the eastern seaboard, Boston to Washington. The number of people traveling in this megalopolitan area increases from year to year. Yet the existing railroad facilities seem to have less and less attraction for meeting the passenger service requirements.

This multistate area's importance is well known. It accounts for the payment of about 27 percent of our Federal income taxes and approximately 30 percent of our annual industrial production.

There is really a great problem with intercity passenger transportation between Boston and Washington. Senator PELL's proposal for a multistate authority is indeed a positive suggestion to meet this great need for modernized and better intercity passenger transportation service. His proposal is attracting increasing interest and support. I think it is worthy of the greatest consideration.

On April 6, 1963, an editorial appeared in the Washington Post endorsing this proposal, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFF THE TRACK—II

The steady deterioration of railroad service is evident to anybody who passes through Union Station, where a shroud of gloom hovers over splendors past. It is the conviction of at least one Senator, however, that the afflictions of the passenger lines are curable in the populous Northeast. CLAIBORNE PELL, Democrat from Rhode Island, is offering a plan that could lead to a rebirth of rail service and make it possible for travelers to speed from Washington to Boston in 4 hours.

Mr. PELL is sponsoring a joint resolution that would give congressional consent to the establishment of a multi-State authority to modernize and operate passenger service between Boston and this city. In addition to the District, the eight States included in the PELL plan are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

The first point the Senator makes is that these Atlantic States are rapidly becoming a megalopolis. The Northeast now has a population of over 37 million and contains 30 percent of the country's manufacturing and 21 percent of the retail establishments. Intercity transportation is vital to the seaboard, and the railroads in theory should be able to provide reliable, swift, and profitable service. Yet though the railroads have the track and right-of-way, they lack the capital necessary to install high-speed service.

As the Senator sees it, a multi-State public authority could raise \$500 million under tax-exempt bonds; the money would be used to

modernize the rails and install high-speed service that would take a passenger from Washington to Boston in 4 hours. Precisely the same technique of multi-State compacts is already employed for the building of port facilities, bridges, and highway. Why not extend the concept, Mr. PELL asks, to the railroad business?

Why not, indeed. The seaboard megalopolis is sure to become more densely populated and more intricately interwoven. Highways and airways will not be sufficient to meet staggering demands on interurban facilities. One rail line, Senator PELL points out, can carry as many passengers as 32 highway lanes.

As a first step, Congress is being asked to appropriate \$1 million for a full-scale study. The request has White House approval, and Richardson Dilworth, former mayor of Philadelphia, is being mentioned as a possible director of the study. Prompt approval of the appropriation would be an investment in the future.

Such a study need not be—and should not be—carried out in a hostile spirit. The railroads have been badly hurt by competition from airlines, which enjoy a Federal subsidy, and trucks, which use a publicly maintained right-of-way. Within their limited capital resources, some effort is being made to improve passenger service. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, announced the other day that 50 modern coaches will be added to the fleet operating between New York and Washington. The aim should be to make this affirmative attitude contagious.

COTTON EXPORT PROGRAM

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the Department of Agriculture has just made the third substantial downward revision in its estimate of cotton exports for the current season. Until just 6 months ago, the outlook for exports was 5.2 million bales. Its latest estimate is about 4 million bales. Trade sources indicate exports will probably not even be this high.

During the first 6 months of the season only 1.3 million bales were exported as compared with 2.6 million for last season—just one-half as much. What caused such a rapid deterioration in foreign markets for U.S. cotton? The answer is simple. U.S. cotton has not been priced competitively in foreign markets as required by section 203 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Let me review why we have a mandatory cotton export program and how it operated for the first few years. As a result of the umbrella which our price support held over prices in foreign cotton producing countries, foreign acreage expanded by leaps and bounds in the late 1940's and early 1950's. As a result, we built up an all-time record carry-over of 14½ million bales on August 1, 1956. Our exports dwindled to 2½ million bales—the lowest in peacetime since 1871.

To combat this situation, Secretary Benson announced a cotton export sales program under general authority accorded him in the CCC Charter Act and the Agricultural Act of 1949. But he failed to offer U.S. cotton at prices which were competitive with foreign growths. After a series of conferences and an exchange of letters, it was clear he would not change the price to a competitive level. There was no alternative but for Congress to take action. This

was done and section 203 of the Agricultural Act of 1956 was enacted. This requires that U.S. cotton be made available in foreign markets at prices which are competitive with foreign grown cotton. It also requires that our fair share of the export market be reestablished and maintained.

This forced the Secretary of Agriculture to lower the price at which he was selling U.S. cotton abroad to a competitive level. As a result, export sales shot up dramatically. During the short period of 4 weeks CCC sold as many bales for export as had been exported during the entire 1955–56 season. For that year, we exported a total of 7.6 million bales, which was three times the level of the previous year and the highest since 1932.

During the following marketing year, our export price was raised over 2 cents a pound and exports fell off. In 1958, the higher export price was maintained and exports dwindled to 2½ million bales. As a result of demands from the cotton industry and insistence by the Congress, the export subsidy was increased from 6 to 8½ cents per pound in 1959 and our export price was made competitive. Again our exports shot up to 7½ million bales. In 1960, it was possible to reduce the subsidy, as the market price was lowered during that year. Our prices were competitive and we had a good export year.

Once we got our prices for U.S. cotton competitive in foreign markets through the passage of section 203, we had a very successful export program, except for 1 year. That was 1958–59. Exports for the other 4 years averaged 6½ million bales. Even including that year, we averaged shipping 6 million bales abroad. This contrasted with an average of only 3.6 million bales for the 5 years preceding the establishment of the export program.

We were able to achieve these greatly increased exports largely because the expansion in foreign cotton acreage was brought abruptly to a halt when U.S. prices became competitive. Likewise the expansion in foreign rayon production slowed down appreciably. The U.S. carryover had dropped from an all-time high of 14.5 million bales in 1956 to a manageable 7.2 million bales in 1961. Government stocks had dropped from over 14 million bales to 1½ million bales during this same period. Largely as a result of our increased exports we were able to realize a modest increase in our acreage.

Secretary Benson's able administration of the cotton export program under section 203 is responsible for this remarkable record of building back our export markets and getting cotton on a sound footing.

A few weeks after the present administration took office, I had occasion to discuss the export program personally with the present Secretary of Agriculture. I told him of the good results generally experienced under this program, and pointed out the importance of keeping our cotton competitive in world markets. I cited the splendid record when we were competitive and the miserable failure the year we got our price out of

line. During this time, there was talk that the price support would be set at a level which would substantially raise the market price for U.S. cotton in this country. I also told the Secretary that any increase in the price of cotton in the United States must be accompanied by an increase in the export subsidy so that the price at which our cotton is sold in foreign markets would not get out of line.

In a letter which I addressed to him on this subject dated February 13, 1961, I stated as follows:

Therefore, if the 1961 price support is at a level which increases the U.S. market price of cotton, the export subsidy must be increased by a corresponding amount in order to maintain this competitive relationship as required by the cotton export law.

On February 21, 1961, the price support was set at a level which increased the domestic price by about 3½ cents per pound. In January 1961, the average price for Middling 1-inch cotton in the official spot markets was 30.14 cents per pound. By October, it was up to 33.59 cents per pound.

In spite of the warnings that any increase in the domestic price of cotton must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the export subsidy, the subsidy was increased by only 2½ cents per pound, whereas the price was increased 3½ cents. This raised the price of U.S. cotton in foreign markets and put the price out of line with competitive growths. As a result, our exports fell from 6.6 million bales to 4.9 million bales.

Our export prices have continued to be out of line. For the current marketing year, which is the second full year this administration has been in office, exports will likely go below 4 million bales. So for the 2 years of the present administration, we will export an average of something less than 4.5 million bales. This contrasts with an average of 6 million bales exported for the first 5 years in which the export policy was set under the 1956 law. This is Secretary Benson's record.

During these last 2 years, foreign cotton acreage made its first significant expansion since 1956. During this time it increased by 3 million acres, and foreign production jumped 4½ million bales. The output of synthetic fibers abroad also climbed sharply. In addition our carryover has jumped from 7.2 million bales to an estimated 10.6 million bales. Government stocks increased from 1½ million bales to over 10 million. CCC's investment went up from \$300 million to \$1¾ billion. U.S. cotton acreage has been cut from 18.5 million to 16.3 million acres, the minimum permitted under law.

It is obvious that if we continue to go in the direction we have been going during the past 2 years, we will pile up more surpluses and force more restrictions on U.S. cottongrowers. The outlook is that we will produce more cotton under the minimum allotment provided by law than we are consuming and exporting this year.

In the face of this condition, the Department announced a continuation of the current export subsidy rate of 8½ cents per pound. They did this even

though our prices have been 1 to 2 cents higher than the price of foreign cotton in the foreign market during the current season. The announcement stated, however, that the 8½ cents would be the initial subsidy rate. The announcement further stated that the rate would be periodically adjusted. At the same time the Department announced a new cotton sales for export program under which stocks of CCC cotton in inventory will be offered for sale periodically on a bid basis. The sales for export program is intended to supplement the subsidy programs.

I am pleased that the Department has decided to use both these techniques. I hope these programs will result in U.S. cotton again becoming competitive in the world markets in accordance with the purpose and intent of the law. This is long overdue. U.S. cotton has been non-competitive too long.

But this program cannot be fully effective unless the price of U.S. cotton for the next season is made competitive with foreign growths in foreign markets immediately. In order for this to be done an announcement should be made immediately that the export subsidy rate will be increased so that our cotton can move at competitive prices. Furthermore, the minimum price at which CCC sells for export must be set at the level to meet foreign competition. The announcement should be so worded and the program must be so administered as to reduce uncertainty to a minimum and to provide price stability.

If the CCC minimum price changes with every sale, the uncertainty in the market will increase to the point of chaos.

One of the great needs is to replenish the cotton pipelines around the world, which have been reduced to the lowest levels of record in relation to consumption. This has been due primarily to the uncertainty of U.S. cotton price policy. These pipeline stocks should be 2 million bales larger than they are presently.

This will not happen without a reasonable amount of price stability. No merchant, no mill, no finisher, no converter, no wholesaler will dare make any commitments except for immediate turnover purposes in the face of the uncertainty of an ever-changing Government minimum selling price. They cannot risk the loss that will be imposed upon them by further price reduction. The longer foreign mills hold off buying the more desperate the foreign sellers will become. They will certainly drop their prices. They will force U.S. exporters to constantly reduce the price at which they bid for CCC cotton in order to compete. This means that many bids will be below the price which the Department of Agriculture officials will be willing to accept.

A minimum should be determined initially by the Department of Agriculture at a level designed to make U.S. cotton generally competitive in world markets during the season, in the light of current conditions and previous experience.

I have repeatedly pointed out to the Department of Agriculture that the competitive position must be considered broadly and over a reasonable period of

time. Section 203 certainly does not require the CCC to fix the price of U.S. cotton equal to the price at which every foreign bale is sold every day by every competitor. This obviously is impossible.

The other provision of the law requires the Department to operate the program so as to maintain our fair historic share. I have urged the Department to exercise judgment in carrying out this provision. I have stated that I do not feel it is necessary that they announce a figure because exports will naturally fluctuate depending upon the textile cycle abroad and the relationship of foreign production to foreign consumption.

But I insist that we have not maintained our fair historical share of the export markets during the past 2 years. U.S. cotton exports were 33 percent of the amount of cotton consumed in foreign countries in the 1930-39 period, and about 20 percent in the 1948-52 period. Foreign consumption has risen from an average of 24 million bales in 1948-52 to an estimated 40 million bales in 1962-63. If we had the same share today as we had in the 1930's, we would be exporting 13 million bales a year. Even if we took the lower 20-percent figure which prevailed during 1948-52, our fair share of the export market would be 8 million bales. It is obvious that 4½ million bales is way below our fair share.

The administration must act promptly and decisively to carry out the cotton export law as intended. This is essential if we are to have a sound and prosperous cotton economy. But that is not all. By carrying out the intent and purpose of the cotton export law, cotton can make a greater contribution to the Nation's economic well-being and to the all-important balance-of-payments problem which is plaguing the administration.

SENATORS AND CITIZENS JOIN TO SUPPORT GI BILL

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, at the hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs yesterday, Senator BIRCH BAYH, the dynamic junior Senator from Indiana testified on a major bill for the first time since becoming a U.S. Senator.

His testimony was forceful, cogent compelling. It was for the GI bill, to provide readjustment assistance to the cold war GI veterans. Senator BAYH's facts were so clear and his reasoning so just and logical that I ask unanimous consent to print his testimony at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BIRCH E. BAYH BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS ON S. 5, TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1963

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a pleasure for me to appear before you today in support of S. 5 which I am cosponsoring. As one who was personally enabled to gain a college education through the GI bill of rights, I know the value of such aid to a young person just mustered out of the service.

AUTHORIZATION FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 105, House bill 2440, the military procurement bill.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 2440) to authorize appropriations, during fiscal year 1964 for procurement, research, development, test and evaluation of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Armed Services with an amendment.

CERTAIN STREETS IN VILLAGE OF HEYBURN, IDAHO

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the majority leader asked me, a few minutes ago, whether or not I had had an opportunity to study Calendar No. 96, Senate bill 22, to release the right, title, or interest, if any, of the United States in certain streets in the village of Heyburn, Idaho, and to repeal the reverter in patent for public reserve.

Since then I have studied the committee report on S. 22. I am satisfied it does not in any way violate the Morse formula.

I want to say good-naturedly that what was needed by the Department of the Interior when they first made this transfer, was a little better legal work, because if there ever was a transfer of property that was confused legally, it was this transfer in Heyburn, Idaho.

What is involved is a transfer by the Department of a dedicated townsite which at one time was really a reclamation project. The streets were all balled up. The Department kept the reversionary right to the streets and sought to transfer the lots, and then seemed to be a little surprised when the title insurance company found it impossible, or refused, to give title insurance to the lots. Who could blame them for that? It could not very well give clear title.

I am satisfied there is no oil or gold or silver or copper or other precious metal under these streets. In fact, there was no good reason for keeping the reversionary interest in a dedicated townsite that was a part of a reclamation project.

Ordinarily the street would be transferred to the municipality, and it would have the right to the streets in that municipality if there was to be a dedicated townsite.

I see no violation of the Morse formula in this transfer, because there was confusion, and there was bound to be confusion in an attempt to hold the reversionary interest in the streets.

Furthermore, it would be more costly to the Federal Government to hold the

reversionary interest than to get rid of it.

Therefore, I see no objection to the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Oregon and to compliment him on his memory, because he had to do a bit of back thinking in a hurry. As he explained what happened last year, my mind went back to the arguments which he brought forth at that time.

I am delighted that he is once again in support of this bill, after giving it his most serious consideration.

So, Mr. President, on the basis of the remarks made and the approval given by the senior Senator from Oregon, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be laid aside temporarily, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 96, Senate bill 22.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 22) to release the right, title, or interest, if any, of the United States in certain streets in the village of Hayburn, Idaho, and to repeal the reverter in patent for public reserve.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 1, line 7, after the word "that", to strike out "adjoin" and insert "adjoin"; on page 2, line 1, after the word "hereby", to strike out "released and quitclaimed to the adjoining owners by the United States" and insert "released"; and in line 6, after the word "hereby", to strike out "repealed, and any right, title, or interest of the United States in and to Lincoln Boulevard or any street hereafter to be vacated within said townsite adjoining the lands described in said patent is hereby released" and insert "repealed"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any right, title, or interest of the United States in and to streets that were dedicated upon the filing of the townsite plat for Heyburn, Idaho, a reclamation townsite established pursuant to the Act of April 16, 1906 (34 Stat. 116), as amended, and that adjoin lands which have been sold, which streets have been vacated, or any street that may hereafter be vacated within the original townsite of Heyburn, Idaho, is hereby released.

SEC. 2. The clause included in patent number 1048499 issued by the United States to the village of Heyburn on July 27, 1931, providing for reversion of title to the United States is hereby repealed.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD CUBA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the March 31 issue of the Register-Guard

of Eugene, Oreg., contained a very useful and favorable editorial about the speech given recently by our colleague from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] on American attitudes toward Cuba.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXAMINING AN UNWORTHY FIXATION

GEORGE McGOVERN, the new Senator from South Dakota, arose in the Senate the other day and said he felt "constrained to speak out against what seems to me to be a dangerous fixation that is not worthy of this great Nation." The fixation, he said, is this country's apparent preoccupation over Castro as such. A greater problem, he suggested, is the long-range interest of this country as it relates to all of Latin America. He is afraid that the combing of old ashes as we review such events as those at the Bay of Pigs will focus attention on the wrong thing—on the man Castro instead of the meaning of Castro.

The "real bombshells" in Latin America, he argued, are these: 1, 2 percent of the people own more than half the wealth; 2, 80 percent dwell in squalor; 3, more than half are illiterate; 4, one-crop economies are so subject to ruin in case of price fluctuation; 5, archaic tax structures coupled with heavy military budgets; 6, a rate of population growth that is fastest in the world. (At the present growth rate, the 12 million who live today in the six tiny Central American countries will increase to 416 million by 2063).

Senator McGOVERN speaks from a special background. Early in the Kennedy years he was Director of the food for peace program. In this, his major concern was hungry people, most of whom have never known anything but hunger all their lives. Such people, he knows, are likely desperate, willing to try the strongest medicine in the chest. In Cuba that medicine was Castro.

But back to this country's fixation. Too many people who ought to know better speak as if Castro sprang fully armed from Moscow, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, crying "Cuba Si, Yanqui No." This is patently false. He and his backers were carefully nurtured in the poisoned soil of Cuba. They were nurtured not by Moscow, but by Batista and what he represented.

Cuba is far worse off today than it was 5 years ago. But such is often the case with those who take the strongest medicine on the shelf. The symptoms, some of which might be eventually fatal to the Castro regime, include food consumption that is down 15 percent, a gross national product down 25 percent, the loss of a quarter-million people, most of them skilled or professional people, and the second smallest sugar crop since the end of World War II.

There is nothing short of war (which a decreasing number of Americans, even among the war-whoopers, seem to want) that we can do directly at this point to oust Castro. We can, of course, continue trying to isolate him economically and politically. This we have done with some success, to the point that it now costs the Russians \$1 million a day to keep the Cuban economy breathing at all. Our only practical hope of getting rid of Castro is our hope that he will fall victim to the power struggle within his own country.

Meanwhile, however, we must not let the Castro "fixation" divert us from the more important goal of seeing to it that the soil in other Latin American countries is not the kind that nurtured Castro. This, not anguished screaming, is the long-range answer to the Castro problem.

THE WORLD FOOD SUPPLY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, a very sobering article appeared in the March-April, 1963, edition of *Corn*, published by the Corn Industries Research Foundation, Inc., of Washington, D.C. The short article previews the proceedings of the World Food Congress which will be held here on June 4 to 18.

The purpose of the World Food Congress is, in effect, to bring to public attention the magnitude of the problem of bridging the gap between available food supplies and those needed for the nourishment of the world's peoples.

One paragraph alone in this article contains statistics which are shocking in their implications. The paragraph reads:

Between one-third and one-half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from hunger and/or malnutrition. On top of this, the population is expected to double in the next 35 years. To bring about a moderate improvement in the level of nutrition it has been estimated that the world's food supply will have to be doubled by 1980 and tripled by the turn of the century.

Because of the magnitude and importance of the problem portrayed, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD FOOD CONGRESS

An estimated 1,200 delegates from more than 100 countries will attend a World Food Congress to be held in Washington, D.C., June 4-18. The event comes at the midway point of the International Freedom from Hunger Campaign, a 5-year program launched in 1960 by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

The World Food Congress is an effort to make the world conscious of the related population and hunger problem and its magnitude. Primary emphasis will be placed upon helping the countries in need to help themselves in bridging the gap between available and adequate food supplies. The Congress is not the kind of event where a once-and-for-all solution will be found, but it may make a substantial contribution toward a world of self-reliant nations no longer plagued by such things as hunger, ill health, and poverty.

FOOD AND POPULATION

"Between one-third and one-half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from hunger and/or malnutrition. On top of this, the population is expected to double in the next 35 years. To bring about a moderate improvement in the level of nutrition it has been estimated that the world's food supply will have to be doubled by 1980 and tripled by the turn of the century.

Behind the rapid population increase are certain arresting features. In the first place, the rate of increase in the less developed regions, where hunger is most prevalent, is greater than in the more developed ones. Secondly, because of advances in medical science people are now able to live longer under worse conditions or without a rise in their standard of living. The result of these two features is that the population of the less developed areas is becoming an ever-larger proportion of the world population.

Participants at last year's World Food Forum, which was also held in Washington, dispelled the notion that agricultural surpluses in one part of the world can alleviate hunger in any substantive, lasting way in another part. A repeated theme was that the developing nations must, for a variety of reasons, depend primarily on a substan-

tial expansion of agricultural production at home. In Asia alone (excluding Red China) the projected need is for an increase of some 80 million tons of food grains by 1980. Commercial or noncommercial trade is simply not feasible to supply grains of such magnitude. Today only 10 percent of world food production goes into export. The bulk of our country's agricultural exports through the food-for-peace program has been to relieve hunger in emergency situations.

MEANS ARE AVAILABLE

There seems to be general agreement that science today has the solution to abundant food supplies in terms of modern technology—increased use of fertilizer, the killing of pests, irrigation and drainage, genetics of plant improvement, the cultivation of more arable land, and so on. But effectuating such changes requires the resolution of a host of politico-socio-economic questions for the countries involved. Social values and public opinion must be changed to overcome certain static situations and create climates conducive to the acceptance of modern technology. Dissemination of agricultural know-how requires that people be educated enough to receive the help offered; thus the pervasive problem of illiteracy is directly caught up in the agricultural struggle. One educational institution the United States is fostering is the organization of rural youth clubs patterned after the 4-H Clubs.

Of particular interest to the visiting delegates will be the successful example of a handful of countries that have succeeded in increasing agricultural production substantially above the population growth rate. This has been true in the past 10 years of such countries as Israel, Mexico, Yugoslavia, Greece, Japan, and Austria. From these experiences the developing nations should learn much that will enable them to become more self-reliant. In addition, of course, the United States, a land where agricultural abundance is consistently attained, will be the center of much attention.

The visiting participants will be asking why it is that American farmers are, say, about five times as efficient as Russian farmers. In other words, what are the conditions that lead to agricultural abundance. If any conclusion is reached on this question it will most likely be that success can only be attributed to a combination of factors—good climate, adequate capital, free incentive, sound technological background, and an effective farm communications system, among others. In its development, however, the American experience did not have to cope with an impatient population. Today people of the developing countries know there is a better life and are determined to achieve it in their own lifetime.

Efforts to increase food production have been concerned traditionally with agrarian reform, or who shall own the land. It is here that American agriculture may convincingly cite its own experience in calling for individual ownership of the land by those who cultivate it: no method of ownership—collective, plantation, feudal, or state-owned—has ever achieved the efficient productivity of the American family farm.

ROLE OF UNITED STATES

Last fall Congress authorized the United States to serve as host country for the World Food Congress. Leadership for our participation is being furnished by the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation through designation of its trustees as Citizens' Host Committee for the World Food Congress. In addition, President Kennedy appointed a Government Committee to work in association with the freedom-from-hunger campaign. Freedom From Hunger Week, observed this March 17-23 in this and many other countries, is one of the events of the campaign.

All reports indicate that the response of the American people to the coming World Food Congress has been especially warm. A subcommittee charged with arranging tours of various area farms and food industries reports that firms and individuals are generously offering their help. These tours will provide the visitors a means of seeing firsthand how our food is produced and processed.

Designed to be a "people-to-people" rather than a "government-to-government" event, the World Food Congress will include participants from all walks of life. Some 300 to 400 persons from the United States are expected to attend. The June 4 opening date was designed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the Hot Springs, Va., conference called by President Roosevelt. This conference laid the foundations for the FAO, which became a part of the United Nations 2 years later in 1945. Common to both the conference 20 years ago and the coming World Food Congress is a recognition that food and agriculture transcend national boundaries, that only a joint effort can solve the problems of world hunger.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have on previous occasions brought to the attention of the Senate the helpful information contained in the publication of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools entitled "Changing Demands on Education and Their Fiscal Implications." There remains but one chapter of the study to which this morning I wish to devote my attention. This is the chapter entitled "Findings and Conclusions."

I ask unanimous consent that this chapter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the chapter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Basic research, application of new knowledge to industrial processes, and automation are remaking the economy of the United States. The depth and speed of economic change are having heavy impacts on the labor force and on education.

IMPACTS ON THE LABOR FORCE

Our population as a whole must have more and better general education. This is essential if the labor force is to have the educational background and flexibility of mind required to respond to rapid occupational change. Some old occupations decline in numbers, and some disappear. New ones arise. Retraining and even lifetime learning are becoming the price of employment.

A larger percentage of the labor force must have advanced technical and professional education. There is also a rising demand for skilled and semiskilled workers. But the opportunities for employment of unskilled workers and laborers are declining and will continue to do so.

The insistent calls for more and more highly trained and skilled workers and the declining demand for unskilled workers are bringing about major changes in the composition of the labor force of the United States. In 1956, for the first time in our history, the majority of the employed population were classified as white-collar workers. It is estimated that by 1970 white-collar workers will far outnumber blue-collar workers.

IMPACTS ON EDUCATION

Occupational changes hold many implications for public education. The schools and colleges must provide more and better basic and general education. These insti-

This simply is not realistic. The new tools were provided because the people want them and because they are needed. But these tools are no good whatever unless we use them. If we are to use them we must have increased funds that will make such use possible.

I hope my colleagues on the Appropriations Committee will give full consideration to this real need for additional funds to implement additional authorities in multipurpose watershed projects. I urge them to consider also the acute problem of providing additional technical help in soil conservation districts.

RECREATION IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

We take great pride in Michigan in making all outdoors our classrooms where our young people and their parents can study science, conservation, arts, and crafts, and where they can enjoy recreation. The classrooms are the camp and picnic sites, the wildlife habitat, the boating docks, and the trails of our forests.

There are now nearly a thousand-family units in campsites in the four national forests in Michigan. The demands on them are heavy.

There is special interest in seven areas in these forests. These are the areas that the U.S. Forest Service has designated to demonstrate multiple-use management of public and private lands.

Private capital has financed the development of our popular winter sports sites—Silver Valley, Caberfae, and the Manistee winter sports area on the Huron and Manistee National Forests, and Thunder Bowl, Mission Hill, and Indianahead Mountain on the Hiawatha and Ottawa National Forests.

The resort complex in each instance is enhanced by the winter sports, organization camps and other public facilities which are provided by the U.S. Forest Service.

We are strengthening our recreational facilities in many ways. This past year the Congress at my urging enabled the Forest Service to add a 1,00-acre shoreline tract to the Manistee National Forest, on Lake Michigan.

The Accelerated Public Works Act made it possible to speed up work that has been underway in the national forests for several years. One thousand two hundred men have been employed in 43 recreation areas of the national forests in Michigan—building tent and picnic sites, fireplaces, boat docks, and parking areas, and roads.

All of these improvements are necessary if the national forests are to serve the increasing number of visitors from our cities and from out of State.

What is being done now will help us meet the demands on forestry for recreation in the next 2 or 3 years. Our people are making long-range plans to draw more fully on Michigan's superb forest resources for recreation. They have formed more than 50 committees on rural area development in the heavily wooded counties. Within the past year the committees in more than half of these counties have drawn up inventories of their resources and long-range plans for using them.

WHAT IS THE TASK AHEAD?

In these and other ways, a beginning has been made. What we must do now is:

Recognize the recreation needs of our rapidly growing population in considering all legislation affecting both public and private recreation facilities;

Recognize the fact that more income must be provided for more people and that, in this era of automation, many of these must be the service-type jobs created by recreation; and

Recognize that fewer acres of land will be needed to produce food and fiber and that the creation of nonfarm income is the most humane, economical solution to many of the resulting problems.

Recognizing these things, the Congress should consider greater expenditures to divert more acres to publicly owned recreation, whether that acreage is controlled by the Federal Government, State government or local governments. The Congress should appropriate the necessary funds to accelerate the various Federal programs operating under existing legislation. Then the Congress should design additional legislation to fill the gaps.

One of the gaps we know exists in financing a large recreation complex in an area which cannot get an ARA loan. The needs are too great to be met by the Small Business Administration. The complex is not being started by an association of farmers, so it is ineligible for a Farmers Home Administration loan. It cannot get private financing which finds more attractive opportunities elsewhere. Despite all the benefits it might bring to the area and to the Nation, a project conceived in such a situation will not be built.

During this session, we should devise ways to provide the help that is needed for the development of adequate recreation facilities in the public interest. We must recognize the contributions of programs like the Farmers Home Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, the Area Redevelopment Administration, and the Small Business Administration to the development of recreation enterprises, and we must supply them both the tools to do the job and the direction to assure their appropriate attention to the problem.

We must stretch Federal dollars by participating in matching programs with the State and local governments to the maximum extent possible. In encouraging commercial recreation, we must concentrate, to the extent possible, on low interest, longterm loans rather than grants, although there may be instances where even grants will be justified in order to serve the greatest public need.

If we do these things, we will be making investments, not expenditures. The way the books are now kept, these may appear as red ink, but we and our children will be reaping the benefits. While the loans are being repaid, we and they will be enjoying happier, fuller lives. Rural people will have better incomes, and surplus farmland will be in more productive, profitable uses.

We often hear about bequeathing our children a public debt. None of us wants to do this, but if we do not begin developing now our recreation resources, we will bequeath them a still greater debt plus a life confined to the asphalt and concrete of crowded cities miles from any open field on which they can step, any woodland in which they can walk, or any stream to enjoy.

THE CUBAN EXILES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have been considering all day breaking into the Senate debate for the insertion in the RECORD of an article published in this morning's Washington Post entitled "U.S. Rejects Terms Set by Cuban Exile." However, I thought I would wait until the Senate had disposed of the Youth Corps bill. This is the first opportunity I have had to make these very brief remarks on the article.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES REJECTS TERMS SET BY CUBAN EXILE—DEMAND MADE FOR \$50 MILLION INVASION FUND

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

The row over American policy toward Fidel Castro's Cuba blew up again yesterday with an administration charge that a Cuban exile leader had tried to serve a \$50 million ultimatum on the U.S. Government.

Earlier yesterday news dispatches from Miami reported that Jose Miro Cardona was offering his resignation as president of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in token of a clash with the Kennedy administration over Cuban policy.

A few hours later the State Department said publicly that while the administration and Miro Cardona had seen eye to eye on the goal of a free Cuba they were not in accord on steps to attain that goal.

EXILE LEADER'S DEMAND

Almost simultaneously U.S. Government officials reported that Miro Cardona had made what they said amounted to an ultimatum to the United States: either give him \$50 million to train and equip an exile army to invade Cuba or give him an intimate role in the preparation and implementation of an early invasion of Cuba by U.S. forces.

Both parts of the ultimatum, these officials said, were unacceptable to the administration.

The Cuban exile leader was in Washington last week to confer with American officials responsible for Cuban affairs. He returned to Miami last Saturday. He was reported to have spent last weekend preparing a 13-page statement charging the United States with going back on promises to encourage action against the Castro regime.

Many Cuban exile leaders now in the United States were dismayed at President Kennedy's recent firm crackdown on any more hit-and-run attacks on Cuba, including attacks on Soviet ships in Cuban ports. However, there have been differences of opinion among the exiles on how best to harass Castro.

The Presidential crackdown on hit-and-run raids created less of a political reaction within the United States than some administration officials had feared. Yesterday's

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prompt revelation of Miro Cardona's reported ultimatum may have been designed to cut off further criticism which almost certainly would have followed news of his resignation.

Whether the reported ultimatum will squash a new round of calls for action against Castro, especially from critical Republican Members of Congress, remains to be seen, however.

A spokesman for the Cuban Revolutionary Council in Miami was quoted yesterday by the Associated Press as saying the group will reject Miro Cardona's resignation.

The spokesman said that a four-man delegation from Washington, headed by Robert Hurwitch of the State Department's Cuban Desk, met with Miro Cardona yesterday in an attempt to dissuade him from resigning.

He said the Kennedy crackdown meant that anti-Castro forces now have no more bases in the Bahamas, British Islands near Cuba, and he commented that this could have disastrous results for the Cuban underground movement. Britain has cooperated with the United States in the crackdown.

Miro Cardona was the American-picked leader of the combined Cuban exile groups at the time of the April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion fiasco. He was supposed to go to Cuba and proclaim a free government once the troops won a beachhead. He never got there; instead he was kept incommunicado during the invasion by a Central Intelligence Agency team in a Miami area house.

He has been criticized for being too close to the United States. His resignation apparently was intended to show both his independence and the frustration of many Cuban exiles at the Kennedy crackdown.

The President's position is that the hit-and-run raids cause no real harm to the Castro regime and indeed have a contrary effect by making it more difficult to get Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to remove the 12,000 to 18,000 Soviet troops still in Cuba.

Mr. Kennedy's critics have implied that he must have made some secret deal with Khrushchev, a charge flatly denied. The new disclosures may add a new round of accusations.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the article points out that Jose Miro Cardona, chairman of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, is reported to have made a \$50 million ultimatum on the U.S. Government for the financing of another attempt on the part of Cuban exiles to invade Cuba, and thereby at least through the back door—although I think most of us agree it would be through the front door—seek to involve the United States of America in war.

Mr. Cardona happens to be the recipient of a privilege, the recipient of the privilege of being a refugee in this country, an exile, entitled, through the sufferance of the United States, to sanctuary in the United States.

Several days ago on the floor of the Senate I spoke on the subject of Cuban exile attempts to involve us in war. I shall continue to speak about it, as long as there is a group of Cuban exiles in this country who are violating the privilege that we have granted to them, and until all the necessary steps have been taken to hold them responsible and restrict them to their rights of sanctuary in this country.

There is no doubt about what Cardona is up to. He will be satisfied with nothing less than war with Cuba. He will be satisfied with nothing less than American intervention in Cuba, and the sac-

rifice not only of American boys in that intervention, but also the sacrifice of many thousands of civilians in this country if even a limited war with Cuba comes about. It will not be a limited war.

I repeat what I said the other day, that the decisions on American foreign policy should be made by the United States, not by Mr. Cardona. He has not even been able to unite the Cuban exiles in this country in any united program. They are composed of a host of factions. He has not been able to give them united leadership, although the Cuban Revolutionary Council is reported by the Washington Post as having refused to accept his resignation from the chairmanship of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. It is their privilege to do so if they want to follow that course of action.

Let us take a look at what the article goes on to say:

The Cuban exile leader was in Washington last week to confer with American officials responsible for Cuban affairs. He returned to Miami last Saturday. He was reported to have spent last weekend preparing a 13-page statement charging the United States with going back on promises to encourage action against the Castro regime.

Many Cuban exile leaders now in the United States were dismayed at President Kennedy's recent firm crackdown on any more hit-and-run attacks on Cuba, including attacks on Soviet ships in Cuban ports. However, there have been differences of opinion among the exiles and how best to harass Castro.

Mr. President, as one American, I am fed up with Cuban exiles attacking American foreign policy while they are here in our country by our suffrage. I am sick and tired of hotheaded Cuban exiles, many of whom are Batistaites. Let us look at the cold, ugly truth.

If a great many of these exiles were put in power in Cuba they would attempt to reestablish a Fascist order such as existed under Batista, just as harmful to human rights as the Communist order of Castro. They both are intolerable.

The American people ought to be told that a surprising number of these Cuban exiles are Cuban oligarchs.

In my judgment they were as serious enemies to Cuban democracy while they were there as are the Castroites now. The senior Senator from Oregon has been heard to say before, as far as human rights and human liberties and civil liberties are concerned, that there is no difference between a Fascist and a Communist.

Be that as it may, I say the time has come to make clear to the Cardenas that if they do not like it here, they should get out. It is time to lay down the American policy that if they continue to attempt to interfere with and intervene in American foreign policy, they must be deported. The sooner the Cardenas are deported, the better, if they are going to take the position that they will violate their so-called sanctuary in this country by preparing a 13-page attack on the President of the United States. It is about time that we make clear to them who is the Commander in Chief of American foreign policy. It is about time that Members of Congress, on both sides

of the aisle, make clear to the President that we are united when it comes to the matter of interference and intervention on the part of a group of foreigners, to whom we have given sanctuary on our soil in order to save their very lives from Castro assassination, if they were still in Cuba.

As one member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, I once again serve notice on the Cuban exiles that I will not hesitate to speak out against what I consider to be their illegal course of action in this country in violation of their sanctuary and their rights of refuge, when they persist in attacking the foreign policy of the United States.

It is about time to tell them that while they are in this country they must keep their mouths shut, and stop their efforts to get us into war, or they must get out of this country.

I say to my President again, as I said the other day, when these exiles hold some of their press conference, as they did when some of these exiles came back from an attack on a Russian ship the other day, that they ought to be met by U.S. marshals and thrown into jail until they can be deported. They have no right under international law while they are in this country to seek to intervene in American foreign policy.

That is for Americans to determine, not for the Cuban exiles. That goes for Mr. Cardona and for all the rest of the Cuban exiles, as well.

TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following additional routine business was transacted:

JOINT RESOLUTION OF MAINE LEGISLATURE

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and my colleague, the junior Senator from Maine [MR. MUSKIE], I present, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Maine memorializing Congress to extend the northern terminus of the Interstate and Defense Highway System in Maine from Houlton to some point located on the northern boundary of the State of Maine.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Works; and, under the rule, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE STATE OF MAINE

Joint resolution memorializing Congress to extend the northern terminus of the Interstate and Defense Highway System in Maine from Houlton to some point located on the northern boundary of the State of Maine

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine in the 101st legislative session assembled, most respectfully present and petition your honorable body as follows:

Whereas it has been recognized that the Nation's economy and the Nation's security require the construction of a National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; and

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Despite the violence, harassment, and intimidation, the campaign has picked up momentum. Hundreds of persons packed the mass meetings in the city's Negro churches to cheer top leaders in the civil rights movement.

If local whites could hear the statements being made they might question the accuracy of the Commonwealth's recent observation that "nothing will be changed after democracy has been tested here."

"The white folks are scared," asserted the Rev. James Bevel at one such session. "That's why they turned the dog loose."

BLAME MANY FACTORS

Leflore County's whites have blamed the voter registration workers, the Kennedy administration and the Communists, in about that order, for the racial crisis.

"It's outsiders that's causing it," said Mayor Sampson recently. "We give them everything. We're building them a new swimming pool. We work very close with the nigger civic league. They're very satisfied."

However, some whites conceded readily in private that it would take more than a new swimming pool to resolve the controversy. Sooner or later, they said, the county will be forced to administer reasonable voting tests and to place all qualified persons on the rolls.

Whose Side Are We on in Cuban Crisis?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1963

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, John Chamberlain has written an illuminating comparison of Fidel Castro and a true hero in Cuban history, Jose Marti, and from this relative estimate is prompted to ask of the present administration, "Who's side are we on?" when we denounce the efforts of some courageous Cuban patriots who are trying bravely to regain their homeland.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following complete text of Mr. Chamberlain's column as it appeared in the Charleston Daily Mail on March 27.

The article follows:

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Mail,
Mar. 27, 1963]

WHOSE SIDE ARE WE ON IN THE CUBAN
CONTROVERSY?

(By John Chamberlain)

It was an old, musty, dogeared volume, the sort of thing you pick up on the remainder shelves of secondhand book shops for a nickel. Its title, a longwinded one, was "The War in Cuba, Being a Full Account of Her Great Struggle For Freedom, Containing a Complete Record of Spanish Tyranny and Oppression; Scenes of Violence and Bloodshed; Frequent Uprisings of a Gallant and Long Suffering People." The date of publication was 1896, 2 years before the Spanish-American War.

I brought it home from Miami, and have been trying, at odd moments, to penetrate the dense jungle of its florid 19th century prose. What keeps you going through the worst of the purple passages is the odd sincerity that dwells just below the surface of the cliche-ridden text. Jose Marti, the Cuban patriot, is decked out in

all sorts of angelic colors—but, discounting the tropical flowers of oratory (the work of Gonzalo de Quesada, the Cuban republicans' representative in Washington during the 1890's), he comes through as a warm, sentient human being, idealist and realist in one.

I had never known much about Marti before. Like the young Fidel Castro who staged an impossible attack on a Batista strongpoint for its symbolic value, knowing that it must fail, Marti took his chances at the age of 16 when he claimed the authorship of an anti-Spanish article which he had not himself written. But Marti's motivation was different from Castro's; he performed his Quixotic act to save a friend. He was jailed, then exiled to Spain, from which he escaped. For 25 years thereafter Marti worked for a free Cuba supporting guerrilla activity from New York City. It was Marti who created the Cuban Home Rule Party, who arranged for arms shipments to the insurgents, and who took the field eventually as a Cuban rebel general despite the fact that he had had no experience in soldiering.

Gonzalo de Quesada describes the death and martyrdom of Marti on the soil of Cuba in words that sound like an excerpt from an old melodrama: "Under the palms, on a white steed * * * he fell. There, where our only majestic river, the Cauto, opens its arms, where from the rising grounds, the valleys, like a motherly bosom, invite the eternal rest, canopied by a gray firmament, there, where the world seems to dilate, Jose Marti battled for the last time against Spanish tyranny * * * he charges; his spirited horse carries him ahead of his men; it is his first engagement; it is his last victory; he rolls from his horse, fallen, wounded; his breast is riddled with bullets; the murderous lead entering under his chin has disfigured the firm mouth; the heavy mustache is burnt; his golden tongue is forever silent."

Reading de Quesada's perfervid words, you squirm. But you can't laugh, for the veneration so flamboyantly expressed still carries a ring of truth after 67 years.

If Marti had lived to become the first President of a free Cuban Republic, he would have scorned to go back on his word. Castro promised the Cubans that the Constitution of 1940 would be restored after the defeat of Batista; he promised a free press; he promised free scope for any and all businessmen who had not collaborated with the Batista government. Every single promise has been betrayed. Marti would have scorned to put a single Cuban under the yoke of an alien Old World power. Castro has delivered all the Cubans in Cuba to Moscow.

Reading the old dogeared book of 1896, I kept thinking about an article I wrote back in the 1930's, about Venezuela, when that South American country was trying to pick up the pieces after the death of the tyrant Juan Vicente Gomez, who had ruled it from 1908 to 1935. Gomez was a caudillo, a petty general, who pretended to have the good of his country at heart. Called "el bagre," the catfish, and "el brujo," the witch doctor, Gomez was feared by everybody—and he ended by being loved by nobody.

Castro pretends to wear the mantle of Marti. But underneath the "buche y pluma," or wind and feathers, he is the contemporary version of Gomez. When Marti was carrying on his struggle against "Butcher" Weyler, the Spanish general sent from Madrid to hold Cuba in thrall, the United States accorded him the rights of a belligerent. But our State Department denounces the modern disciples of Marti, the Cubans who are banded together in Alpha 66, for hitting some Russians while raiding the Cuban coast. Is the State Department on the side of the shade of Jose Marti? Or does it prefer the shade of "Catfish" Gomez?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Wednesday, April 10, 1963

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

- Senate passed Youth Conservation Corps bill and took up military procurement authorization bill.
- House passed bills making supplemental appropriations and repealing silver purchase legislation.
- House committee approved military pay increase bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 5857-5885, 5998

Bills Introduced: Nine bills and five resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 1302-1310; S.J. Res. 69; and S. Res. 122-125. Pages 5870, 5999

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. Res. 113, to print as a Senate document a report on the Alliance for Progress (S. Rept. 129);

S. Res. 117, to print as a Senate document a report entitled "Study Mission to Southeast Asia" (S. Rept. 130);

S. Con. Res. 9, authorizing temporary placement in the rotunda of the Capitol of a statue of the late Joseph Ward, of South Dakota; S. Con. Res. 10, to tender thanks of Congress to South Dakota for the statue of the late Joseph Ward; and S. Con. Res. 11, to print as a Senate document the proceedings at the acceptance of the statue of the late Joseph Ward (S. Rept. 131);

S. Con. Res. 30, to reprint copies of a committee print of the 87th Congress entitled "Part I of Concentration Ratios in Manufacturing Industry, 1958" (S. Rept. 132);

S. Con. Res. 32, authorizing printing of hearings in the 87th Congress by the Select Committee on Small Business on "Space Satellite Communications" (S. Rept. 133);

S. Con. Res. 35, to print additional copies of part I of the hearings of the Joint Economic Committee on the 1963 Economic Report of the President (S. Rept. 134);

H. Con. Res. 86, to print as a House document the pamphlet "Our Flag" (S. Rept. 135);

H. Con. Res. 98, to authorize the printing of a wall map of the U.S. (S. Rept. 136);

H. Con. Res. 108, to print as a House document "How Our Laws Are Made" (S. Rept. 137);

H. Con. Res. 119, to print as a House document the Constitution of the U.S. (S. Rept. 138);

S. Con. Res. 6, accepting the statue of the late John Burke, of North Dakota, and tendering thanks of Congress therefor, with amendment; S. Con. Res. 7, authorizing temporary placement in the rotunda of the Capitol of the statue of the late John Burke; and S. Con. Res. 8, to print the proceedings in connection with the acceptance of the statue of the late John Burke (S. Rept. 139);

S. Res. 119, providing an additional \$300 for expenses for Committee on the Judiciary (no written report); and

S. Res. 122-125, authorizing payment of gratuities to survivors of deceased Senate employees (no written report). Page 5858

Bill Referred: One House-passed bill was referred to appropriate committee. Page 5908

President's Communication—Supplemental Appropriations: Communication from President transmitting proposed supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1963 for Department of the Interior in the amount of \$6 million and a proposed provision for Department of Defense, was referred to Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed as S. Doc. 11. Page 5857

Youth Conservation Corps: By 50 yeas to 34 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate passed with amendment S. 1, to establish a Youth Conservation Corps within the Department of Labor, after adopting committee amendment (in nature of a substitute), as amended. This committee amendment was considered as original text for purpose of amendment, and the following actions were taken on amendments and motions offered to it:

Adopted: Inouye amendment respecting definition of term "State" in the bill and providing that each State shall be entitled to not less than 50 enrollees under title I (Youth Conservation Corps), and 50 under title II (State and Community Youth Employment Program); Williams (Delaware) amendment (to title II) establish-